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ARONSON — BELFRAGE — McMANUS
An editor goes into exile — but the masthead stays the same

AN EDITOR IN EXILE

Belfrage won't be silenced; sails for England Aug. 15

By Elmer Bendiner

THE GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage was due to go into exile on Monday, Aug. 15. Passage had been booked for him and his wife, Dr. Josephine Belfrage, on the S. S. Nieuw Amsterdam, of the Holland-America Line, sailing from the 5th St. pier, Hoboken, N. J., Monday at noon.

For 2½ years, since Sen. Joseph McCarthy angrily ordered his deportation to England, the Immigration Dept. has persecuted Belfrage with unparalleled vindictiveness, compounding the overall injustice of his exile with countless mean harassments that seemed tinged with personal spleen.

WON'T BE SILENCED: The case, based on an informer's testimony alleging that Belfrage was a communist 18 years ago, was calculated to wreck the GUARDIAN or at least, deprive it of Belfrage's leadership. Both of those objectives were frustrated. When every legal step had been taken to win bail for Belfrage and Supreme Court Justice Harlan had finally turned it down, the GUARDIAN chose the one way possible to restore Belfrage to the pages of his paper. Rather than stay silent in jail Belfrage will write for the GUARDIAN from overseas.

Belfrage's departure is technically termed "voluntary" which has the effect of absolving the government from paying his passage. He has, in fact, been forced out of the country because of the paper he edits. Though technically he is deported he is in fact exiled since he had made the U. S. his home since 1936 and the GUARDIAN, which he helped to found, is his major life's interest.

MAXIMUM CONFINEMENT: For the past three months Belfrage has been held in the Federal Detention Prison on New York's West St. The Immigration Service not only fought doggedly against bail for Belfrage but vengefully refused to remove him to the deportation center established for custody of aliens. Early in his imprisonment, though no charge was pressed against him, Belfrage was held in almost solitary confinement and had to wage a hunger strike to win the bare privileges accorded criminals in the jail.

The N. Y. **Times** and St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** spoke out editorially against Belfrage's imprisonment (though both papers observed the almost universal silence on the deportation's injustice and its significance to freedom of the press). N. Y. Dist. Dir. of Immigration Shaughnessy bluntly told a delegation that Belfrage was in jail because he is an "agitator."

In the final week of Belfrage's stay American Civil Liberties Union director Patrick Malin wrote Lt. Gen. Swing (Ret.), Commissioner of the Immigration & Naturalization Service:

> "If by agitators is meant people being held for deportation because of their political beliefs, their confine-

(Continued on Page 4)

WAR & PEACE

U.S.-China talks slowed but thaw in cold war continues

By Kumar Goshal

THE GENEVA TALKS with China, which the U. S. has been conducting very gingerly, reached a snag last week over the handling of civilian repatriation.

In the absence of diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington, Chinese Premier Chou suggested that both countries

> ". . . entrust to a third country the task of looking after the affairs of its civilians in the other country and primarily . . . the return of these civilians to their own country."

U. S. Ambassador Johnson was opposed although India's Premier Nehru urged President Eisenhower to accept Chou's suggestion. The U. S. press speculated that Peking was thus trying to claim indirect sovereignty over all noncitizen Chinese in this country and also to use it as a face-saving device for domestic consumption. But N. Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent Joseph Newman pointed out (8/3) that Chou's formula would save "Washington from an embarassing dilemma" because, lacking diplomatic relations, "the U. S. cannot recognize [People's China's] claims . . . to any Chinese in the U. S." A third country, Newman wrote, could help "arrange the repatriation of American nationals" and assure Peking that the "U. S. is not obstructing any Chinese who wish to return to the mainland."

IKE COOL: President Eisenhower at his press conference displayed less warmth for talks with China than he had shown earlier for the Big Four summit meeting. He barred any Asia summit conference, tied any future Chou-Dulles talks to "release of all U. S. citizens held in China" and "some convincing indication" by China of renouncing forcible recovery of Formosa, and reiterated U. S. friendship for Chiang Kai-shek.

Meanwhile, need for an Asian conference of broader scope was underscored by disturbing reports from Korea. On Aug 6 and 7 in S. Korea, violent demonstrations against the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission resulted in injury to nine American soldiers and four S. Koreans. The demonstration was inspired by S. Korean President Syngman Rhee's ultimatum to the NNSC (Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia), on the grounds of pro-N. Korean sympathies, to get out of Korea by Aug. 13. Washington apparently agreed with Rhee (**Associated Press** 8/8), although it deplored "strong-arm methods" to oust the commission.

ATOMS FOR PEACE: The UN Atoms for Peace Conference, pregnant with immense potentialities for human welfare, opened at Geneva on Aug. 8, with 1,260 delegates from 72 nations and seven specialized agencies gathered to present and listen to over 1,000 papers on nuclear energy. At the opening session Indian physicist and conference president Dr. Homi J. Bhabha forced into the open the subject of fusion

(Continued on Page 4)

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Naturally, your biggest problem will be converting it to peacetime use."

Belfrage and America's Alien and Sedition Laws

WE OF THE GUARDIAN STAFF know you share with us the deep hurt and ineradicable anger occasioned by the deportation of Cedric Belfrage. The hurt is something among ourselves, for losing the companionship and in-person stimulation of an exemplary friend and associate. The anger is something which must be translated into unrelenting political action.

Belfrage was framed-up by the government of the country of his choice, by means of perjuries uttered by FBI informers and accepted as truthful evidence by the U. S. government and the courts. That he was framed because of his editorship of a non-conforming, disturbing newspaper is beyond question. The proceedings against him and the treatment accorded him in the course of those proceedings have been blows aimed directly at the principle of a free press.

The law used to frame Belfrage was the Walter-McCarran Law, which in the guise of an immigration and naturalization statute is aimed at establishing political conformity by every foreign-born American, under threat of exile.

The atmosphere for the Walter-McCarran Law was created by the Smith Act of 1940, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the McCarran Act of 1950. In the wake of these laws have come, too, the Brownell Laws of 1954, under which prosecutions for political non-comformity are enabled against any individual or organization in the nation.

These laws must be nullified and repealed as the Jeffersonians did with the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798, which Thomas Jefferson, upon assuming the Presidency in 1801, declared to be "a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image. . . ."

THE READERS OF THE GUARDIAN comprise the largest and best-informed nucleus in the nation to challenge these laws. This is the reason for the victimization of the GUARDIAN's editor, who himself analyzed this most accurately earlier this year:

> **"The GUARDIAN represents a political position whose very existence Washington must at all costs deny if its main propaganda line is not to collapse. In the past decade uncountable billions of dollars have been spent to isolate the Communist Party—first, by 'proving' that it is 'under orders from Moscow' and 'advocates violence'; and then by terrorizing all progressives through the proposition that no favorable word for socialism, nor basic criticism of 'Western democracy,' nor defense of the Communist Party, could be uttered by other than Communists.**
>
> **"If Americans stop swallowing that line and decide that one can take such positions merely under orders from conscience and common sense, then the witch-hunt which makes continuation of the cold war possible will lose whatever rationale it has been given."**

WE URGE YOU to make the deportation of Cedric Belfrage the rallying point for a finish fight on the Alien & Sedition Laws of present-day America. With the best guidance we can find, we shall try to point the way in the weeks and months ahead.

And indeed those of us who are Americans by accident of birth, and thus privileged to carry on this fight without peril of exile, must take this occasion to offer our apologies to Cedric Belfrage for the treatment our country has been suffered to accord him; and our thanks to him for the high example he has set for us all in the fight for restoration of the Jefferson tradition in America.

— By John T. McManus for the staff.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Ask Ike to veto UMT!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Will all Americans opposed to military regimentation now address the President to veto the Military Reserve Bill (UMT)—not because he is not satisfied with it, didn't get what he wanted from it, but because we don't want any such law? Non-signature—as a continuation of the friendly spirit of the "at the summit" negotiations—will be the deed, not merely words, from which disarmament negotiations can proceed later.

If Mr. Eisenhower proceeds to sign, constituents should influence their congressmen to introduce legislation, and organize committees in all localities, to REPEAL THE MILITARY RESERVE LAW. In this manner, Americans can hasten repeal before the damage—unlike the situation with the Prohibition Amendment, repealed years later and after sufficient damage to the moral fiber of the people.

Albert Bofman, U. S. Committee Against Militarization, 6327 So. May Street, Chicago 21

Heaven too

ERWIN, TENN.

That basketball "space ship" now proposed by the Eisenhower Administration is clearly an attempt to move Heaven as well as earth to cover up the Dixon-Yates deal.

Ernest Seeman

Politician defined

PORTLAND, ORE.

Your letters re an independent party are of two kinds—those from the standpoint of a politician and those from the standpoint of a statesman. A politician stands only for action that has a chance to secure a majority vote. Hence he follows the masses rather than leads them—he brings up the rear of the procession. The deteriorating mess, in which we are, comes from every Congressman being a politician. A statesman, on the other hand, stands for his principles, regardless of the consequences, trusting that the majority will finally recognize his wisdom. He is an educator and a true leader.

Since every social improvement begins with a minority, the only hope of advancement lies with the statesman, whereas the politician is a drag on social progress. Witness our Founding Fathers, who put over the revolution with only minority support; the anti-slavery leaders, but for whose hopelessly minority parties the Republican Party could never have been born; and the Prohibition leaders who frightened the old parties into giving the nation prohibition before it was ready for it. The Populist Party would have succeeded if Bryan had continued to lead it. His failure to do so was the greatest tragedy in American History—and as great a tragedy for him.

H. P. Lee

Snakeroot

MAMARONECK, N. Y.

Your "How crazy can you get dept.," normally most astute, apparently missed the point July 25.

If the results of reserpine administration were truly as Dr. Smith reported (former State Dept. member, after treatment, remarked: "Co-existence is possible now."), then the current State Dept., Congress and Administration is in line for treatment with this wonder drug.

Reserpine, incidentally, is not so new. It has been used for centuries by physicians of India under its natural name, snakeroot. Perhaps this accounts for the sanity of today's Indian body politic.

Name withheld

How crazy can you get dept.

OLYMPIA (AP)—A state non-communist oath must be signed by veterinarians who test cattle for Bang's disease, vaccinate calves and inspect meat and brands for the state on a fee basis. . . .

Spokane (Wash.) **Daily Chronicle**, July 6, '55.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. R. P. Forrest, Rathburn, Idaho.

Self-righteousness

CLINTON, ILL.

Society produces the good, the indifferent and the bad; takes full credit for the efficiently good, blames the indifferent (worships the useless if they are rich) and legally kills the bad, who are called offenders, delinquents, criminals, who are culturally misdirected, miamolded, misshapen, patterns spoilt in the making, noncomformists. Society finds it more satisfactory to kill its faulty product than to correct and improve production processes.

Society kills off the unwanted, not to protect but to justify and satisfy cultural society, thru milleniums trained to rely wholly on scapegoat deliverance, substitute price-paid atonement and vicarious-suffering redemption. Society serves the totem-pole god of self-righteousness, proclaims unto stultification, not sanctification. "We Choose God," while torturing, hating, killing (legally with divine morality) the culturally unfortunate.

P. E. Roll

From an old greenbacker

CORNING, CALIF.

Enclosed find $20. I am a little slow but guess all people get a little slow when they get 90 years old. I am one of the old timers. Was a Greenbacker in my youth, then was quite a figure in the Populist movement. Distributed 1000 **Appeal to Reasons** in Lincoln, Neb., in the Debs campaign.

John P. Elliott

Back in touch

SHRUB OAK, N.Y.

I've been without the GUARDIAN much too long, but was a little low in personal funds for a while. I shall be very happy to have it again so I shall be back in touch with the world. It is much easier to do without a small luxury than a great paper, as I have found during the few months I've been without the GUARDIAN.

Mary Mobile

Gracious crusaders

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

For nearly 20 years Charles Rowoldt of our city has been fighting efforts to deport him to Germany because he was secretary of the Hennepin County Workers Alliance in 1936. The case has been dismissed once; the proceedings found illegal another time; and his bail ordered returned in 1954 when it proved impossible to deport him to Germany. The late, beloved Arthur LeSueur represented Charlie in the early stages of these proceedings.

Now a new harassment has forced us to go to the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, at heavy expense. The Rowoldt Defense needs several hundred dollars RIGHT NOW! We know you gracious crusaders for human justice will respond to this immediate need.

Pat J. Gleason, Sec.-Treas., Rowoldt Defense Committee 302 Lumber Exchange, 5th & Hennepin, Minneapolis 1, Minn.

On to the U.S.S.R.

SULLIVAN, MO.

How times do change!

Only a few months ago, according to so many newspapers and magazines, Russians were savages. This summer Iowa farmers' wives try to outdo themselves cooking fried chicken and giving Russian farmers three kinds of pie at their meals. Let's continue this friendliness by starting a campaign to send a group of trade unionists to Russia and have them send a group of union men over here for a visit. Come on, trade union readers of the GUARDIAN, let's hear from you on this subject.

L. K. England

Needed: an A.P.P.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

This awakening of our nation is what we have been working for, shouting for, praying for, hoping for. Now that it is here what are we going to do with it? Let it wilt on the vine? Leave it to Reuthers and the Demos to sell us down the river?

Who says the conditions have not materialized for a third party?

Let's get in front of the moving masses with everything we've got! Let's call a mighty conference quickly—and hammer out the third party—the American Party for Peace!

John C. Taylor

Wall Street Journal

"Well, I've almost made ends meet—another $21.55 and they will touch."

Investigate lily-white TV

BRONX, N. Y.

Representative Walter, co-author of the racist quota system in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, comes to our town shortly seeking out entertainment artists he claims are aiding and abetting the subversion of the "American Way." What a mockery of decency and patriotism! An avowed racist—looking for un-Americans!

Any honest, red-blooded American cultural figure who ever spoke up for brotherhood and equality of opportunity will surely be suspect and subjected to the indignity of having his loyalty challenged.

Ah, yes! We need a Congressional investigation—an investigation of the terrific number of unemployed in the cultural fields—an investigation of the discriminatory hiring practices that are as plain to see here in the television studios of New York as are the "For White Only" signs in Georgia.

Allan Lee Kimmel

In memory

MATTAPAN, MASS.

Am sending a small contribution ($5) to your courageous weekly in memory of my mother, Jennie Povirk, who passed away recently.

Since the NATIONAL GUARDIAN espouses the progressive principles that she held to the last, it is fitting to remember that newspaper.

Victor Povirk

Best wishes

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Congratulations and best wishes to you on the splendid, timely letter which you addressed to Pres. Eisenhower, asking him to intervene in behalf of editor Cedric Belfrage who is struggling to win justice.

I have addressed an airmail letter to the President and I sincerely hope it will influence him to join the fight for the right, "Human Justice," give Cedric his freedom and help make "Freedom of the Press" live in a real democracy.

N. A. Pallow

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REPORT TO READERS

Great day!

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 1,500 of our GUARDIAN family in the Bay Area hereabouts got together last Sunday for a picnic at Vin and Vivian Hallinan's place at Ross. By a marvelous turn of fortune it was the first chance most of the merrymakers had to congratulate one another on the victory of our beloved labor leader, Harry Bridges, against the government's fifth attempt to deport him or hold him in jail.

When Harry himself showed up among the early arrivals, everybody's cup was filled to overflowing! The GUARDIAN's Bay Area representative Malvina Reynolds ran the show with all the help she counted on and plenty more, so we'll let her tell the rest of the story. From here on it's Malvina reporting:

GREAT DAY! And Harry Bridges, victorious in his fifth and probably last deportation fight, was our main speaker—spontaneous, but Harry spontaneous makes a greater speech than 90% of your hard-working orators! He was introduced by Vivian, who got almost as big an ovation (how she can look so slim, trim, beautiful and in good spirits all the time I don't know, but I suppose for anyone who has raised six such lusty rogues, anything else is a breeze). The rogues were all there, serving as guards at the pool. (Vin had to go to N. Y.)

ILWU officials, attorneys and community greats of all sorts got behind the counters and served. . . . I think I shall never forget the idyllic picture of the Hallinan estate when we left at 8 p.m. Peggy Sarasohn had just concluded a contest among the remaining kids for picking up the most cigarette butts, paid off in ice cream bars, and the lawns lay in shiny green purity in the evening light. Harry B., Steve Cox and a dozen more of the cleanup squad set around the trash fire in the grove, cleaning up the last of the beer (also a public service, since it couldn't be returned and wouldn't be fit to drink when it got warm.)

GUARDIAN affairs here are getting a reputation as being especially fine and enjoyable. I have come to the conclusion that our committee is the best of them all. We may lack the organizational experience of some, but everyone is so willing, so good-natured! I couldn't begin to name all, but let a word be said for the Petaluma Coordinating Committee, which supplied a number of turkeys, had them cooked and worked all day at serving dinners. Everyone was especially pleased at the inter-racial character of the affair, at the number of people who came long distances to take part, at the good proportion of young people present.

•

NOW, HOW ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY? Of course we don't expect you'll turn out 1,500, nor can we guarantee a Bridges Victory around every barbecue pit. But we think we can promise perfect weather—at least we have it on the highest authority from Paradise (Calif.) that the weather will stay put at 85° tops for the rest of the summer.

Even Honolulu has a GUARDIAN Party in the works; and other places where they are planned, or have been held with everybody saying let's do it again soon include Culver City (Calif.) which had a spaghetti dinner and is now topping it off with a breakfast, Bridgeport, Conn.; Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; Swansea, Mass.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Minneapolis and Duluth, Minn.

Seattle is having a salmon bake; York, Pa., a White Elephant Sale; Trenton, N. J., Buffalo, Syracuse and Rochester, N. Y. are all planning things; and from L. A. we just got a box of cookies to lift our spirits a bit after the Belfrage Case reversals.

THE BELFRAGE CASE is one reason we want and need your neighborhood's extra help. True, it would be far finer to have our editor in his accustomed chair, running the paper in person—but it can be a great advantage in other ways to have him writing from abroad, traveling freely throughout the news centers of the world, bringing us the kind of picture that we couldn't get from anyone else.

This is what we want to undertake, and with your help, it can be one of the GUARDIAN's most successful enterprises. As you can perceive from the accounts elsewhere in this issue of the GUARDIAN, our editor starts on his journey this week—so we hope that this week you will let us know your plans to help us see things through.

A postcard will do, saying "Count on us"; we'll do the rest.

WASHINGTON

Two-party harmony in Congress is just dandy for big business

By Lawrence Emery

THE FIRST session of the 84th Congress closed up shop shortly after midnight Aug. 3 and Congressional leaders of both parties promptly claimed credit for relaxation of cold war tensions around the world. As practical politicians they could do no less and they couldn't be expected to acknowledge the scope and complexity of all the contending forces which have replaced, for now at least, the haunting fear of self-incineration with a vision of peaceful co-existence. Nor could they, as practical politicians, admit that they are still holding on to all their cold war weapons for possible future rattling.

In any case, this country's foreign relations are largely contingent on what other countries do. But in domestic policy, the U.S. Congress is dominant. The 84th's record in this field is dismal at best.

BI-PARTISAN STAND-STILL: Most curious—probably unique in our history—was the strange harmony that prevailed to the end between a Democratic Congress and a Republican President. At session's end Democrats were still boasting that they gave Eisenhower more support than did his own party, and the **Congressional Quarterly** reported that of 33 issues on which votes were taken, a majority of both parties supported the President on 31. The results for Big Business were splendid. Those who needed the most got little or nothing. Social progress in the third year of the Eisenhower era stood still.

On civil rights legislation the 84th Congress drew a total blank. Both parties reneged on their bright promises.

School kids got nothing; they return in the fall to overcrowded, understaffed, makeshift places of little learning.

N.Y. Journal American

FULL AGREEMENT AT LAST

Farmers are still hooked with Eisenhower's sliding scale of price supports and Congress even failed to act on desperately-needed drought aid.

Labor got the back of the hand on its request for improvements in the Taft-Hartley law; it won only a $1 minimum wage (as against its demand for $1.25), got no extension of coverage. The President may still veto even that.

Millions of ill-housed can look forward to a maximum of 45,000 new public housing units between now and July 31, 1956.

The ill and the ailing got nothing in the way of federal health insurance.

Improvements were shelved for social security benefits.

Taxes for the rich were lightened; the burden on the non-rich became more onerous than before.

There was no statehood for Hawaii or Alaska.

Congress failed to act on proposals for lessening restrictions on immigration; the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act was untouched.

But Congress did extend the draft, did pass a reserve training bill that is a prelude to universal military training, and did increase its own pay handsomely.

WALTER HAPPY: Actually the Democrats in the bipartisan Congress were happy to settle for even less than the thin gruel offered by Eisenhower. Oddly, this state of affairs was pleasing to the CIO, whose president Walter Reuther announced on Aug. 3:

> "The CIO is heartened by evidence of a growing unity among liberals of both parties. . . . We look for action during the second session to further weld this bipartisan liberal coalition."

But Joseph L. Rauh Jr., head of Americans for Democratic Action and general counsel for Reuther's United Auto Workers, said that under Eisenhower

> "we have dynamic conservatism, the saddest excuse for a legislative program since President McKinley. . . . We have the most corrupt administration since President Harding."

He denounced the Democrats for "doing nothing."

BIRDMEN: The House of Representatives marked the end of the session with a carnival sideshow. One group bawled songs like "Let the Rest of the World Go By" and "The Old Mill Stream." Rep. Chelf played his harmonica. Rep. Friedel announced he would imitate a bird, sipped from a glass of water and proclaimed: "That's a swallow!" To round it off, Rep. Rabaut sang a song of his own composition; it lacked a tune but this was the title: "I Ain't Gonna Do Nothing for Nobody Notime, Until I Get Something From Somebody."

Rosenberg probe boomerangs as victims fight back

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities, headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), drew a blank Aug. 2-5 when it sought to link the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs with the Communist Party. Three veteran stoolpigeons, none connected with the Rosenberg fight, sought to label individuals from Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and Rep. Walter's Lehigh Valley district as Communists.

Some 20 people subpenaed for attack used the occasion to attack Walter and his Committee's motives, filled the record with material exposing the miscarriage of justice in the atom-spy convictions of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell and utilized the trip to Washington to lodge with the Senate Judiciary Committee a petition for a Senate inquiry into the conduct of the cases. The petition has been referred to the Hennings subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

After four back-firing days of hearings, Walter called upon Atty. Gen. Brownell to list the Rosenberg Committee as subversive. The committee has been out of existence since 1953.

NINETEEN TIMES ON THE RACK

Taylor begins 3-way fight on Bentley fantasia; Fitzgerald challenges new forced testimony law

IN THE PAST eight years William Henry Taylor has been summoned before boards, congressional committees and grand juries 19 times and questioned, as he puts it, "sometimes in a manner reminiscent of the Inquisition."

After nearly a decade on the rack he asks:

> ". . . is it to be wondered at that I have come to the conclusion that there is a determination on the part of a few powerful men to render me unemployed and unemployable? Two Secretaries of the Treasury, an assistant Secretary and an assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Director of the FBI and at least three Senators . . . have been after my scalp. Who can doubt that if they are successful that I will be blackballed and blacklisted from gainful employment in my trained profession of economics for the rest of my life."

THE LAST STRAW: Taylor worked for the Treasury Dept. during the war, is now an official of the International Monetary Fund. The last straw was heaped on his back last month when the Intl. Organizations Employes Loyalty Board, set up to screen Americans working for international organizations, recommended his dismissal. Its report said that "evasion by Taylor was particularly apparent when the Board attempted to determine whether or not he furnished information to unauthorized persons." **I. F. Stone's Weekly** (8/1) excerpted this sample of Taylor's "evasion":

> "Q: Well, do you deny you ever gave Miss [Elizabeth] Bentley any papers?
> "A: I affirmatively deny it.
> "Q: Or that you gave anyone else papers to transmit to Miss Bentley?
> "A: I deny it.
> "Q: Did Harry [Dexter] White ever give you papers for delivery to anybody who was not fully authorized to receive them by virtue of the business you knew they were engaged in?
> "A: No, sir, Harry White never gave me any papers to be delivered to anybody other than in a strictly business manner."

THREE-WAY FIGHT: Taylor has been urged to retire quietly. He has chosen instead to force a showdown. His lawyer, ex-Congressman Byron Scott, plans a three-way fight-back. He will go first to Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.), chairman of a Senate sub-committee studying security procedures. He will go back to the loyalty board itself and if he gets no satisfaction, he will test the constitutionality of the loyalty program in the courts.

The show-down may well explode the whole technique of faceless informers, immune from cross-examination; it may wreck the plot to smear all New Dealers, living and dead, with the treason charge; it may brand as a hoax Elizabeth Bentley, the "spy queen" whose testimony destroyed scores of lives and is still the Bible for witch-hunters. (Taylor figured in Miss Bentley's lurid spy story.) Taylor is aware that he is more than an unfortunate victim. He declared in a statement to the Loyalty Board:

> "I am now convinced that certain government officials are not interested in me as a suspect but as a symbol—as long as I remain in Washington employed by an international agency I am a constant reminder of the failure of those same authorities to persuade a grand jury to accept the Bentley story. I am visible evidence of the weakness of their charge of twenty years of treason."

REJECTS IMMUNITY: His fight has already affected still another New Dealer battling the "twenty years of treason" charge. Edward J. Fitzgerald served from 1936 to 1948 in five separate government agencies. Like Taylor he was named by Bentley; like Taylor he has been hounded ever since. On July 20 he was questioned by a grand jury investigating wartime espionage charges and invoked the Fifth Amendment. The Dept. of Justice, acting for the second time under the new "Compulsory Testimony Act," obtained a court order directing Fitzgerald to answer under a guarantee of "immunity."

WILLIAM HENRY TAYLOR
Down with the "Queen"

On July 29 Fitzgerald again refused to testify. He is now to appear on Aug. 11 before a federal judge on a charge of contempt.

BLISTERING STATEMENT: Before appearing the second time before the Grand Jury Fitzgerald wrote stingingly to Atty. Gen. Brownell:

> "The fact is, as you well know, the Grand Jury has not been called to investigate espionage but to advance the political fortunes of the Republican Party. . . . You seek to make me a sacrificial goat to be entrapped into prosecution for contempt or perjury or some other unjust and unwar anted charge in order to make headlines. You are again trying to make political capital out of the discredited, stale charges made by Elizabeth Bentley ten years ago, charges which you and the Justice Dept. know and have always known to be false."

On Brownell's public charge of espionage, Fitzgerald asked him:

> "Why then do you insist on pressing upon me unconditional immunity for my alleged crime instead of prosecuting me as would be your duty if I were guilty?"

BENTLEY DEMOLISHED: Among the questions Fitzgerald posed to Brownell was one scorcher: why did he keep from the grand jury the evidence compiled by William Henry Taylor that demolishes Elizabeth Bentley's story?

That evidence, contained in a 40,000-word statement by Taylor, documents the self-contradictions, the glaring discrepancies of the Bentley fantasia. It shows the "spy queen" delighting Senators with tales of Russian intrigue to secure information about an explosive—then reveals that the explosive was discovered in 1899 and has been widely used throughout the world ever since. It demonstrates how she gulled the nation with tales of her spy ring ferreting details of the Doolittle raid on Japan—but she had the wrong planes; how she got advance word of D-Day to the Russians—who were officially informed from Eisenhower's headquarters; of how she smuggled currency plates to the Russians—who got them officially from the U.S. government.

Her memory's flexibility which enabled her to recall in detail a newspaper picture no newspaper ever published, her indiscriminate use of names and numbers, all uncorroborated, are all set down and compared with the facts in Taylor's statement.

In a future issue the GUARDIAN will report more on the Taylor expose of the "Queen."

Cicadas sing again in Hiroshima

But for those who lived there is no forgetting

Last week in San Francisco, New York, Hiroshima and around the world meetings were held to commemorate the dropping of the first atomic bomb by a U. S. plane over Hiroshima, Aug. 6, 1945. Some needed no ceremonial commemoration. They cannot forget. Here are excerpts from an account of the holocaust written by a woman who was a schoolgirl at the time. It was published in the Japanese monthly, Atarashiki Sekai, *Aug., 1953.*

I WAS WALKING down the hallway of the Hiroshima Girl's High School, when I saw a flash. (The school is located about 1,000 yards away from the center where the bomb was dropped). I was lifted up by the blast from the bomb and buried by the debris of the school. As I fell, I saw friends also falling, then I lost all consciousness. When I came to I felt a cold wind. Four or five of my friends were dragging me out of a hole. Someone was calling my name. I was so dizzy I could not reply. My only thoughts were to get away. Leaning on a friend, I started to run.

The houses on both sides of the street were razed to the ground. A thick column of smoke hid the sky. Through the smoke, one could see darts of flame. We went towards the Tokiwa bridge.

AT the terrible sight of some of the people I shouted, "How awful!" I wanted to cry. Men and women standing like ghosts, mostly naked and with blackened faces. Their skin hung torn and bloody from their bodies. What I thought was a piece of cloth hanging from someone's waist, was his skin, torn from his back and hanging down. Column after column of human beings with bright red and swollen sores were crossing the bridge. The concrete railing of the bridge had crumbled. Those who could not see or could not walk well stumbled over the ruins and fell into the water and drowned.

At the first aid station which was located in a school, the casualties were lined up for treatment. Since most of these people came from the same district, there must have been some one I knew around, but I could not recognize anyone. Their faces were swollen to twice the normal size. No one was recognizable. I scrutinized all these faces looking for my mother. Even if my mother was there I wouldn't have known her. That night many people died. I wandered around the station for two days, waiting for my mother to show up. I had to find out if mother was living or not. Her name did not appear on the list of survivors. The third morning I left the station to go and look for mother.

IN THE RIVER near the Kohei bridge I saw seven or eight bodies floating in the water. They were swollen to the size of a cow. On the bank of the river people were piling up the dead and burning them. The smell of burning flesh was inescapable.

I felt very lonely and wanted to weep. The whole city was burned down to the ground. Here and there one could see a bit of concrete still standing. The black trunks of trees were lying around. People would come in the mornings with shovels and leave in the evenings with what they thought were the remains of their families.

With one hand pressing on my injured back and a dry piece of bread in the other hand, I staggered around dizzily day after day looking for my mother. Was my mother already burned to ashes like those bodies by the river side or was she lying somewhere with wounds full of maggots?

There was no place for me to go. There was no one to tell me where to go, when to go to sleep or to scold me. All alone I ate my dry bread and drank from broken water pipes. Again and again I felt sick and vomited.

AT this time of year, again, the cicada is singing, just as on that sunny morning when the bomb dropped. The trees have begun to bloom and reconstruction is going on in this city of Hiroshima. They say it is better to forget the tragedy of the past. They say if one wants to live, one must forget the pain which is past. Yet I feel it would have been better to leave the city as it was right after the bomb dropped. I would show the devastation and the burned fields to the people who say, "War is terrible" and to those who say, "Because of war business is good," and also to those who feel there is no use doing anything about it, that nothing can be done about war.

EACH YEAR as August 6th comes around I think of the innocent people who died like guinea pigs on that day and the wound in my heart becomes deeper. The tragedy is still with us in one form or another. Those who are happily with their families must also vow "No More Hiroshimas" and "Peace." Even when peace comes to this world, our families will not come back to us.

On the anniversary of the bombing I would rather be left alone than attend any ceremonies. I do not mean to disappoint the warm love of the many people towards the casualties of the atomic bomb; what I need is to find some serenity in my daily life. I want to live a quiet life and somehow find the courage to trust that happiness will come to my simple heart.

Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

ment in prison is even more shocking."

STATEMENT BARRED: The vindictiveness of the persecution lasted to the end. When Belfrage's departure had already been arranged, the customary application was made to secure his liberty in bail for a few days' time to wind up his affairs at the GUARDIAN and at home. The Immigration Dept. said that he could have only three days, Aug. 8, 9, 10, during which he could visit his home and office under guard between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., then must return to prison for the night.

While in prison he wrote a statement to the GUARDIAN's readers. It was read by the prison censors and passed on to the warden's office which refused to release it.

The GUARDIAN will have the statement from Belfrage as soon as he is beyond the reach of wardens. It will not be a statement of farewell.

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Foes of utilities rally to fight new Hell's Canyon giveaway

THE Cadillac Cabinet's try at moving a private utility into the publicly-developed, publicly-owned TVA system finally failed, but now the Administration has uncorked another move to kill public power with private monopoly. On Aug. 4, a day after Congress adjourned, the Federal Power Commission announced a unanimous decision to award a 50-year license to the Idaho Power Co. to build three low-level dams on the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border. The decision actually was made on July 27 but was sat on till Congress quit.

If it stands, the decision will forever destroy the greatest remaining site on the North American continent for a single huge, high-level, multi-purpose dam like those at Boulder, Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

FIVE-YEAR FIGHT: The single high dam would not only generate far more badly-needed power in the Pacific Northwest at lower rates than the three small dams, but would provide flood control, irrigation, navigation, conservation and recreation and would permit production of low-cost fertilizer from nearby beds of phosphate. In addition, it is the key to the full development of the Columbia River Basin.

The Idaho Power Co. (a New England corporation with powerful Eastern financial backing) has been fought for five years in its bid for Hell's Canyon. But one of the first acts of Interior Secy. Douglas McKay under the Eisenhower administration was to withdraw his department's official opposition to the power company's application. Pacific Northwest farm and labor organizations, public power associations, public utility districts, communities and the Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. immediately banded together and, with support from public power advocates around the country, fought for public development of the Columbia River Basin as one of the nation's richest natural resources.

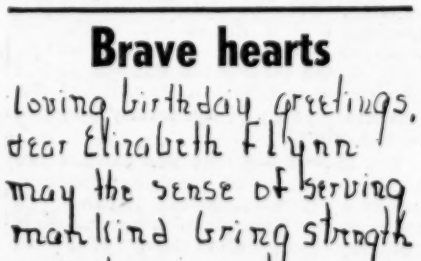
But the conclusion was foregone; of the FPC's five members, one was appointed by Herbert Hoover and the other four were hand-picked by President Eisenhower's private enterprisers.

"COMPLETE SELLOUT": But the fight is not over and is likely to become the biggest public power battle of all time. Foes of monopoly development have 30 days to appeal the FPC's ruling; if it is rejected, an appeal can be taken to the courts. It will be one of the hottest issues in the next session of Congress; when this session adjourned, the Interior subcommittees of both Houses had approved bills directing the government to construct the big Hell's Canyon dam.

George H. R. Taylor, speaking for the Hell's Canyon Assn., said the FPC ruling "demonstrates what can be done to sabotage comprehensive development of a river system by a rigged agency which has been given a political job to do by the Administration and has done it."

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) called it "a sad day for the Pacific Northwest." Rep. Gracie Pfost (D-Ida.) said "this is a big business Administration and nothing more." To Sen. Magnuson (D-Wash.) it was "a complete sellout."

Brave hearts



Helen Keller, celebrated humanitarian, although totally blind and deaf, sent this greeting to Smith Act victim Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who on Aug. 7 marked her 65th birthday in the Women's Federal Prison at Alderson, W. Va.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

reaction—which the U. S. has been unwilling to discuss—by predicting that within 20 years

". . . a method will be found for liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner. . . . Then the energy problems of the world will truly have been solved forever, for the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy hydrogen in the oceans."

THE THAW: Elsewhere the goodwill generated by the Geneva Big Four meeting brought these signs of the thaw:

• W. German Chancellor Adenauer was invited to Moscow in late August or early September (Moscow accepted Adenauer's condition for preliminary talks between their ambassadors in Paris). Another Moscow bid went to France's Premier Faure and French Minister Pinay. A French official suggested Soviet Premier Bulganin and Communist Party head Khrushchev stop in Paris after their London trip.

• Yugoslavia's President Tito told a group of Americans on July 25 that Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey should abandon the plan to develop their friendship pact along military lines because he is "convinced . . . the Soviet Union truly wishes peace."

• Despite U. S. opposition, the World Fedn. of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, with which the AFL Am. Fedn. of Teachers is affiliated, met in Istanbul, Turkey, on Aug. 3, and voted to admit to membership the Spanish teachers-in-exile and to establish a liason committee with the Intl. Fedn. of Teachers Unions, which includes teachers of the socialist countries.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — III

The forces behind the present boom

By Tabitha Petran

(Third of a Series)

FOLLOWING the 1953-54 recession, the U. S. economy experienced what has been called a "truly electrifying upturn" (**Journal of Commerce**, 4/11). Actually by May, 1955, it had barely recovered to the 1953 level. In some countries this might be considered stagnation. Here it is hailed as a "new era" . . . "the greatest boom in history." And illusions about perpetual prosperity, the possibility of preventing or postponing depression, are rife—even among progressives.

These illusions undoubtedly have their origin in the fact that the major depression widely anticipated when World War II ended has—10 years later—still to materialize. Yet today's boom has not lasted as long as the one after World War I; and that earlier boom sustained itself without an intervening (Korean) war and a near wartime level of military expenditures.

If the reasons for the boom after World War II are analyzed minutely, each factor whose coincidence made for the boom will be shown as short-lived; it will be clear that they are part and parcel of the internal contradictions which are leading to a major cyclical decline—and the popular illusions will be exposed.

MILITARY SPENDING: The chief source of the vitality of U. S. monopoly capitalism in the 10-year span was the government's military spending of $310 billion. Compared to this $310 billion, New Deal

spending, 1932-40 (mostly for welfare), totaled $32 billion—a 10 to 1 ratio.*

This military spending produced a huge expansion in the U. S. economy—providing the stimulus for the traditional heavy capital expenditures by business characteristic of a boom period. It was important to the character of the post-war decade that the military program was superimposed on an economy which still had unfinished business in making up for war-postponed domestic demand, and war-created and U. S.-financed foreign demand. Also, it fed inflation. Military expenditures have already spent their developmental effects at present levels and could promote a new wave of investment only if substantially increased.

CAPITAL EXPANSION: During the decade business spent more than $200 billion for new plant and equipment, a rate of spending never before equalled.** The great bulk of this investment was induced by the government's military program and was government-supported with all kinds of tax and other special benefits. Since these expenditures themselves created effective consumer demand, and since there was still unspent purchasing power left over from World War II, business investment was generated in consumer goods as well as capital goods industries.

Today the key question is: Has this capital investment drive spent itself? It is key because accumulation of capital and its investment (that is, turning money into more money) is the driving force of the system. In a boom period, capitalists—in anticipation of greater profits—always expand capacity. This investment in plant and equipment will continue so long as they can sell their products at a profit. But the capital investment boom must ultimately break against the narrowness of the consumer market. The reason is that the very same process that expands production capacity (the drive for greater profits) restricts the consumers' share in the products. In other words, wage payments do not keep pace with rising profits and investment. Hence consumer purchasing power is limited relative to production capacity.

OVER-CAPACITY GENERAL: On the surface it would appear that the capital investment drive is still going strong since, after cutting its spending plans in 1954, business today is again increasing them. The current spurt in capital expenditures comes at the end of a decade which saw record business investment produce a more than ⅔ increase in U. S. manufacturing capacity.*** At present, there are many signs to suggest that this increased capacity is—in terms of demand—more than enough, that over-capacity has become general throughout American industry. Said **U. S. News** (3/11):

> "Large unused capacities are indicated in almost all lines of industry and agriculture. Workers, too, are in surplus. . . . American industry in fact is able to turn out a much greater volume of goods than is now being produced."

According to **U. S. News** figures, the auto industry will operate at only 75% of capacity for 1955 as a whole; the steel industry at about 90%; textile at 70 to 75%; TV, radio, refrigerator, cooking stove and other appliance industries are currently being operated at 25 to 50% below capacity.

SATURATION POINT: Thus there is already a lot of slack in U. S. industry at a time when the economy is increasingly saturated with durable goods of all kinds. The fact that autos and appliances are being offered at big discounts indicates that overproduction at certain prices is already here; that is, that production is at a rate faster than the market can take. The **Illinois Business Review** (3/55) wrote:

> "As we move into 1955 the broad picture is that of an economy facing increasing saturation with durable goods of all kinds. . . . High current rates of investment in durables of all kinds imply a degree of overproduction that has to be corrected after a while."

In the face of this picture, what is maintaining business investment for new plant and equipment? Examination reveals that capital expenditures are rising but have surpassed their 1953 level only in commercial construction (office buildings, retail stores, shopping centers). This is typical of the late stages of a boom when competition is fierce and over-building is common in the distributing end of business.

TREND TO AUTOMATION: Plant and equipment expenditures for factories and mines—cut back most in the recession—continue to lag below the 1953 level. The bulk of such investment today is in cost-cutting, labor-saving machinery, automation. It is dictated by a drive to reduce labor costs and by

sharpening competition among capitalists.

Such investment means a reduction in employment requirements and can be expected to continue only if there is a demand for the products of these installations. Thus, the business investment picture suggests a weakness in the basic sectors of the economy; this is further revealed in examining the industrial origin of national income in the recent recession and recovery.

The significance of the 1953-54 recession was its concentration in the commodity production sectors (manufacturing, mining, transportation). Construction was the only such sector which did not decline, and it was maintained only by housing. The commodity production sectors make up the basic structure of the economy. Trade and finance are superstructure; they handle the goods produced. The superstructure can continue to expand only when the basic structure expands.

The recent increase in consumer expenditures is accounted for primarily by the inflation of consumer indebtedness to an all time high. This situation cannot long continue because the burdens of the debt charges and repayments are eating into earnings left over for ordinary and necessary expenditures.

FACTORY JOBS DOWN: Manufacturing employment, particularly metals and metal products, was hardest hit in the decline and has lagged in the recovery. This weakness in the basic structure is further underlined by the fact that employment in durable goods manufacturing dropped most and has been slow in recovering. **Business Week** (7/16) reported that in 1954 the factory hiring rate was the lowest since 1931; and this June's high employment of 64 million leaned heavily on the "ill-defined" category of the "self-employed," with factory jobs today some 900,000 under a year ago.

During the boom of the 1920's manufacturing employment declined and was lower in 1929 before the crash than it had been in 1919. Much was later made of this fact as one of the key weaknesses of that time. A similar weakness in the basic structure of the economy appears to be developing today.

NEXT WEEK: Why the boom must end.

* President's Economic Report, Jan., 1955.
** National City Bank Letter, Oct., 1954.
*** McGraw-Hill Survey.

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This picture was taken a few months before my husband, a Marxist scholar of long standing, began serving a two year sentence under the Smith Act this past January.

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He suffered two heart attacks during the trial, and was taken from courtroom to hospital. Recently he fainted in prison.

Would you help win a parole for my husband, to save him from what may be a death sentence — imposed solely because of his political beliefs?

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Thank you very much,

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Among those who have already written are:

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Dr. Alice Hamilton, Conn.
Dr. Charles Hill, Pres., Wilberforce Univ.*
Robert Morss Lovett, former Gov., Virgin Islands
Waldo Frank, writer
Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, N.Y.C.
Anton Refregier, artist
Rev. Paul McClure, Nev.

* For identification only.

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CALENDAR

Bridgeport, Conn.

PICNIC FOR THE GUARDIAN. Aug. 14, at 10 a.m., at **NINETY ACRES PARK.** Located on No. Park Av. For transportation call ED 5-8224 or FO 8-6312. Fireplace No. 11 will be reserved. In case of rain picnic will be Aug. 21.

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AUGUSTA, GA.

I would like to correspond with individuals who have a progressive viewpoint towards the world and who may even be socially isolated as I am. We could exchange experiences and just more or less converse in writing. I can see nothing but a broadening of outlook for the participants in such an exchange —to say the least. If the thing gets big enough, it could even be called something like "The Association of Isolated Progressives," or perhaps the old "Committee of Correspondence."

Build dream upon dream and you soon have a whole world of fantasy. It just remains to do something about it. Give the dreams a concrete habiliment. Pair them with positive action. Such is my way of thinking at the moment and I invite comments and criticism from anyone. I'll reply.

Robert Weiss
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the SPECTATOR

This is a man

IT WAS TEN YEARS AGO this summer that I first met Cedric Belfrage. We had been assigned to fly from our Army HQ near Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, to the Bremen Enclave to screen applicants for the first paper to be licensed in that battered port city. I was new to the job so I mostly watched; I watched the way Cedric worked and I watched Cedric. The job was to find "clean" newspapermen who had never worked on the Hitler press. Cedric went about his work without sentiment and with a single-mindedness that was rare to observe. He stuck to the job until it was done; then we relaxed.

The rains came, and for three days we were grounded in Bremen without transportation out. For three days we talked and argued, and when the skies cleared we were fast friends. It happened that the scene was our outfit's billet on a broad avenue with a new name: Franklin D. Roosevelt Boulevard.

How many stories—exciting, sad, tense, filled with uproarious laughter—flood through my mind as I look back on those years as our friendship grew and we formed a working partnership: the readjustment to cold-war America after the hope of F. D. R.; the frustration of working on the commercial press again when you were not the same person you were before; the beginnings of the GUARDIAN in a borrowed apartment on Madison Avenue where we set up shop for the preview issue in July, 1948; the sense of belonging as you worked with people who knew what it was all about and wouldn't quit—for anything; above all, the deep satisfaction that comes from working with a human being like Cedric Belfrage.

CEDRIC IS A METICULOUS MAN about his craft. The written word is his medium and his product is hand-crafted. I have watched him often as he wrote a story in a noisy office with typewriters clacking and conversation swirling about him. He was oblivious to all: the search for a word was on. The pipe puffed steadily, the blue eyes fixed on a point on the wall, the fingers poised on the machine. Then the word came and the rhythmic chase resumed on the keys. It was a sight that made for security: you knew the right word would be found.

His mark is on the GUARDIAN. For seven years—save for the months in prison and a few holidays—he has read every word that has gone into our paper. No story was too small to escape the search for a superfluous adjective, a new turn to lighten the weight. And the proofs fine-combed as the printers groaned—and later expressed their admiration for a craftsman.

His mark is on the GUARDIAN where it is not so apparent in black and white: the threshing out of what the GUARDIAN stands for. Cedric is a stubborn man, but is a flexible man. He will express himself firmly and vigorously, but he will listen too. What's more, he will seek advice. The stubbornness is not an armor-plate to protect fixed ideas; it is an outwardly-directed thing that fights for principle and sanity and it is unyielding. The sentiment is absent, the humanity persistent.

AS I VISITED HIM each Saturday through the past months in prison for a brief few minutes and watched the familiar face through the thick glass that separated us, I knew what oppressed him most. It was not the lack of freedom as such, but the lack of freedom to work. For if there is one striking quality about Cedric it is his deep understanding of the dignity of work. In this spirit he has contributed to an experiment in group journalism the best of his personal journalism and has come away richer for it—as have we all.

We will miss Cedric sorely. We will miss his tolerance in an intolerant time, his quiet efforts for what he calls "together-work" in a time of rampant individualism. We will miss his humor, his comradeship. We will miss his presence.

MAY I GO BACK to Germany for a moment? It was late in 1945 and we were sitting in the drafty office of an editor of the Frankfurter **Rundschau** in Schillerstrasse (again the ring of freedom). The editor was a man who had survived 12 years in Hitler's concentration camps. He and Cedric had found each other. This day Cedric had come to say goodbye; he was going "home" to America. I watched them as they smiled and took each other's hand in farewell. There was silence for a long moment after Cedric left. Then the editor looked at me and said in German: "This is a man."

I think that it is a feeling which all of us who have known Cedric will share; and to know Cedric is to know what he writes, because he is what he writes. Then we have all known him and he will always be with us; for he is the kind of a man who never leaves you once you have come to know him.

James Aronson

PEACE CRUSADE CALLED SUBVERSIVE

ATTY. GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL last week asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to find the American Peace Crusade a "communist front" and order it to register under the McCarran Act.

The petition charges that the APC is "directed and controlled" by the Communist Party and was organized to "implement and co-ordinate . . . the communist peace offensive."

Brownell noted as an incriminating item in the APC's record support of or participation in "international peace gatherings" such as those in Vienna, Peking and Berlin.

No date has been set for SACB hearings.